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Family conflict, particularly acculturation conflict, has been identified as a significant risk factor for immigrant youth, increasing the likelihood of depression, lower self-esteem, conduct problems, and poor academic performance in Latino and Asian American adolescents and young adults (e.g., Bahrassa, Syed, Su, & Lee, 2011; Dennis, Basañez, & Farahmand, 2010; Formoso, Gonzales, & Aiken, 2000; Gonzales, Deardorff, Formoso, Barr, & Barrera, 2006; Juang, Syed, & Takagi, 2007). Despite this, there is limited empirical work that addresses the mechanisms by which acculturation conflict impacts psychological well-being in Latino youth. The goal of this dissertation was to examine the mechanisms that underlie the negative effects of acculturation conflict with parents, on an adolescent's depressive symptoms and self-esteem. In this current study, participants included 140 Latino adolescents ($M_{\text{age}} = 12.88$; $SD = .70$; 51% girls). The majority of youth were from Mexican-origin families (81%). Using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM), results indicated that parent-adolescent acculturation conflict predicted greater depressive symptoms, lower self-esteem, lower relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers, and a lower ethnic private regard. Additionally, ethnic private regard served as a partial mediating mechanism linking acculturation conflict to self-esteem, such that, acculturation conflict predicted a lower ethnic private regard, which in turn, predicted lower self-esteem. Discussion focuses on research and clinical implications for working with Latino families living in an emerging Latino community.

ACCULTURATION CONFLICT AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT AMONG
LATINO ADOLESCENTS: MECHANISMS AND PROTECTIVE FACTORS

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Existing research suggests that parent-adolescent conflict regarding values, beliefs, and expectations for autonomy are a normative part of adolescence, but are likely to be different across various cultural groups and potentially more pronounced in immigrant families (Kwak, 2003; Phinney, Kim-Jo, Osorio, & Vilhjálmsdóttir, 2005). The emergence of parent-adolescent conflict coincides with the emergence of salient developmental tasks of adolescence such as autonomy-seeking and identity development (Marcia, 1994); and while the concurrent nature of these processes may be influenced by immigrant status and acculturation experiences, this has not been examined in-depth in the extant literature. Much of the existing work with immigrant families is lacking both a nuanced conceptualization regarding the nature of parent-adolescent conflict as well as an understanding of the mechanisms by which this type of conflict impacts an adolescent's well-being.

For immigrant families, the process of adapting to different cultural values and behaviors has the potential to cause stress (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007); this stress is often referred to as acculturative stress. One particular component of acculturative stress is acculturation conflict between parents and their adolescents. Acculturation conflict refers to conflict that explicitly relates to differences in cultural values between parents and their children (Juang, Syed, Cookston, Wang, & Kim, 2012). Acculturation conflict

can manifest as behavioral arguments and disagreements with parents, as well as, internalized conflictual feelings that stem from the acculturation process (e.g., Basáñez, Dennis, Crano, Stacy, & Unger, 2013). Because a strong orientation toward family is valued in Latino cultures (Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, & Marín, 1987), acculturation conflict between a parent and adolescent may be particularly harmful for a Latino adolescent's psychological adjustment.

Consistent with this notion, research suggests that the deleterious impact of family conflict may be heightened in Asian and Latin American families, as it signifies disobeying cultural norms of respect and obedience (Phinney & Ong, 2002). In fact, acculturation conflict has been associated with greater internalizing symptoms, aggression, substance use, and lower self-esteem in immigrant youth (e.g., Ansary, Scorpio, & Catanzariti, 2013; Martinez, 2006; Rumbaut, 1994). Cook, Alegría, Lin, and Guo (2009) suggest that increased family cultural conflict is a potential pathway linking acculturation to the deterioration of mental health for immigrants. More specifically, this research group found that past-year psychiatric disorders were related to greater family cultural conflict and concluded that family conflict is a factor that may explain differences in past-year mental health outcomes among U.S.-born and immigrant Latinos with varying times in the U.S. (Cook et al., 2009).

The goal of this dissertation was to examine the mechanisms that underlie the negative effects of acculturation conflict with parents on adolescent depressive symptoms and self-esteem. More specifically, this dissertation examined whether parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction and private ethnic regard served as mediators for the relation

between an adolescent's report of acculturation conflict and psychological adjustment. Additionally, an exploratory question examined the role of peers as a protective factor in the face of acculturation conflict.

Much of the existing literature on acculturation conflict is conducted with Asian American samples, while a few studies examine this construct with Latinos. Thus, although this study was conducted with a Latino sample, the review will incorporate literature examining parent-adolescent conflict in both Latino and Asian American immigrant families. Both of these groups' populations continue to grow in the United States due to high rates of immigration and they share some similarities regarding the acculturation experience. With that said, it is also important to note that these two groups have different languages, social histories, and some unique cultural values. Thus, examining parent-adolescent conflict in Latinos will provide further insight into similarities and differences regarding the family context and adolescent well-being across various immigrant groups.

Acculturation Conflict

Acculturation is a dynamic process of cultural change that occurs when individuals from two different cultural groups come into continuous contact with one another (Berry, 1998). Berry (1980) characterized the course of the acculturation process as going from contact between two cultural groups, to conflict between those groups, and eventually resulting in changes made by one or both of the groups. Acculturative stress has been defined as "a response by people to life events that are rooted in intercultural contact" (Berry, 2006, p. 43). Many factors are associated with increases in acculturative

stress, such as, differences in acculturation between adolescents and their parents, language conflict, perceived discrimination, and a lack of commitment to the family and culture of origin (Vega, Zimmerman, Gil, Warheit, & Apospori, 1997). An emerging literature with adolescents also supports this conceptualization of acculturative stress (e.g., Romero, Carvajal, Volle, & Orduña, 2007; Vega, Khoury, Zimmerman, Gil, & Warheit, 1995). Additionally, regarding adolescents, some acculturative stress models highlight that adolescents may receive pressure from their families or same-ethnic peers to maintain their culture of origin (Romero et al., 2007). Thus, it can be argued that acculturation conflict between parents and their children is one aspect of acculturative stress that immigrant families may face (Gil & Vega, 1996; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994).

Acculturation conflict, as a construct, is not yet clearly defined or well-measured in the extant literature. Currently, most researchers who study acculturation conflict operationalize the construct as conflict between parents and their children as a result of parents being “more traditional” and their adolescents being “more Americanized” (Dennis et al., 2010). The literature uses various terms to label this construct, such as, “acculturative dissonance,” “family cultural conflict,” “intergenerational cultural conflict,” or “acculturation-based conflict.” For parsimony, the term “acculturation conflict” was used in this study. Embedded within the construct and conceptualization of acculturation conflict, different subcategories of conflict may exist, such as, conflict regarding values and expectations as well as conflict surrounding which culture the adolescent prefers and which culture the parent prefers (Dennis et al., 2010).

Additionally, acculturation conflict may manifest in two ways. In some situations, the conflict surrounding issues of acculturation may be expressed in the form of verbal disagreements between parents and their adolescents; in other situations, adolescents may internalize their conflictual feelings without verbally expressing themselves. Families may experience both manifestations of acculturation conflict. In the existing literature, some researchers have tapped into the actual presence of verbal disagreements (e.g., Dixon, Graber, & Brooks-Gunn, 2008; Fuligni, 1998; Galambos & Almeida, 1992) while others, such as Dennis and colleagues (2010), have focused on the feelings of conflict a child or parent experiences (which may or may not be verbalized). For instance, assessing the extent to which adolescents feel that their parents want them to behave differently (i.e., “My parents would like me to be more traditional”; “My parents wish that I would practice the customs of my culture more than I do.”), captures an internalized aspect of acculturation conflict that may or may not manifest in a verbal disagreement. This type of conflict has the potential to lead to distress for the adolescent.

Because Latino cultural values emphasize obedience and *simpatía* (conformity, respect towards others, harmonious interpersonal relationships) (Triandis, Marín, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984), Latino adolescents may feel that it is inappropriate to argue with or talk back to parents. In fact, research suggests that Latino adolescents are less likely to outwardly disagree with their parents as compared to their European counterparts (Fuligni, 1998). Thus, empirical studies that have only examined parent-adolescent acculturation conflict operationalized by the presence of a verbal disagreement or fight, may have only captured a sub-set of Latino families or conflict situations; further

inquiry into the effects of acculturation conflict which considers both internalized and verbalized conflicts are necessary. In this dissertation project, the term acculturation conflict was utilized to capture an adolescent's feelings regarding the conflict between upholding Latino values (as encouraged by parents) versus acquiring the "American way of doing things" (Dennis et al., 2010). The measure used in this study captures internalized conflictual feelings as well as possible verbal disagreements regarding "preferred culture" (i.e., Latino versus American culture.)

In the past, acculturation conflict has been viewed as a threat to relatedness with parents, rather than being viewed as normative during adolescence. However, more recent research suggests, that in fact, acculturation conflict is normative, but at the same time unique and potentially harmful to immigrant families (Juang et al., 2012). Despite this, there is limited research on the specific construct of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict in Latino families and the mechanisms by which this type of conflict impacts Latino youth. This study aims to advance the existing literature and examine how this specific type of conflict impacts an adolescent's psychological well-being.

Theoretical Considerations

Parent-adolescent conflict within immigrant families has mostly been studied with regards to acculturation gaps with Latino and Asian heritage youth and their families. The extant literature uses various terms (e.g., intergenerational conflict, acculturative dissonance) to describe acculturation gaps, but for parsimony, cultural values discrepancies and differential acculturation status between parents and their children will be referred to as acculturation gaps.

The acculturation gap-distress model is the only parent-adolescent conflict model that incorporates the construct of acculturation conflict. This model suggests that children of immigrants acculturate at a faster rate than their parents to the “host” culture (e.g., U.S. culture). In turn, this discrepancy in rate of change creates an acculturation gap between children and their parents, which leads to greater family conflict; then, this family conflict leads to youth maladjustment (Costigan & Dokis, 2006; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993; Telzer, 2010).

Although theoretically appealing, there is not much empirical evidence that supports the acculturation gap-distress model, as the literature has produced mixed findings (Telzer, 2010). Some studies with Asian and Latino families have found that acculturation gaps are related to greater family conflict, anxiety, depression, conduct problems, substance abuse, and lower self-esteem (e.g., Ho & Birman, 2010; Juang et al., 2007; Liu, Benner, Lau, & Kim, 2009; Martinez, 2006; Phinney & Vedder, 2006). Contrary to the acculturation gap-distress model, some studies have found that families who had acculturation gaps were not more likely to report parent-adolescent conflict, adolescent adjustment problems, or negative outcomes in Latino youth (Lau et al., 2005; Pasch et al., 2006). The original acculturation gap-distress model hypothesized that parent-adolescent conflict served as the mediator between acculturation gaps and various outcomes, but again the literature suggests that this may not always be the case. For example, despite concluding that parent-adolescent acculturation gaps were unrelated to parent-adolescent conflict, Smokowski, Rose, and Bacallao (2008) found that acculturation gaps were negatively associated with family cohesion, adaptability, and

familism. Additionally, some research suggests that acculturation gaps and conflict can simultaneously influence adolescent outcomes, implying a possible partial mediation model as opposed to a full mediation model (Juang et al., 2007). The mixed findings in the literature illustrate that the actual mechanism linking acculturation gaps to various family and psychosocial outcomes is not well understood. In the extant literature, acculturation gaps are measured in a number of different ways (Birman, 2006). One method is assessing an acculturation variable in a parent and their child, and then calculating the difference score. Another method is to gather parent or child self-report on various acculturation variables or the presence of an acculturation gap.

The empirical evidence regarding acculturation gaps and outcomes may be inconsistent due to the oversimplified conceptualization and measurement of the acculturation process and acculturation gaps. One of the major criticisms of the acculturation gap-distress model is that it “simplifies a complex and dynamic cultural process, often ignoring developmental and contextual differences” (Telzer, 2010, p. 314). Indeed, Schofield, Parke, Kim, and Coltrane (2008) found that father-child acculturation gaps were associated with negative outcomes only when children reported a poor relationship quality with their father. This finding highlights that the gap itself is not necessarily problematic but rather, other aspects of the parent-child relation may influence how acculturation gaps impact adolescent outcomes. In the same vein, regarding the first part of the acculturation gap-distress model, there may be moderating and contextual factors that influence whether the presence of acculturation gaps actually leads to family conflict (Telzer, 2010). Acculturation gaps may not always lead to

conflict, which may explain some of the inconsistent findings regarding this model. With that said, it is possible that the integral component of the acculturation distress-gap model is the second half of the model, which proposes that acculturation conflict between parents and their children negatively impacts adolescent psychosocial outcomes. Consistent with this notion, in a study with Latino families, Smokowski and colleagues (2008) found that perceived acculturation conflicts were more strongly related to family functioning than actual acculturation gaps.

As posited by the acculturation gap-distress model, parent-child conflict resulting from differential acculturation may be especially problematic for psychological adjustment as youth may lose emotional and social support and feel alienated from their parents (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Similarly, theory regarding parent-child relationships in immigrant families (specifically Asian Americans) suggests that perceptions of conflicting cultural orientations with parents can lead to “problematic emotional, cognitive, and behavioral distancing between immigrant parents and their children” and can have detrimental effects on mental health outcomes for immigrant youth (Hwang, 2006, p. 398). Thus, acculturation conflict has the potential to make adolescents feel disconnected from their parents, which in turn can lead to an adolescent’s psychological maladjustment.

Regarding depressive symptoms specifically, these theories fit with the interpersonal life-stress model of depression that posits that problematic interpersonal experiences (family- and peer-related stress) may predict greater depressive symptoms in

youth (Rudolph et al., 2000). In particular, Rudolph and colleagues (2000) theorize that interpersonal stress

may lead to the internalization of maladaptive beliefs about the self and relationships, such as a diminished sense of self-worth, decreased perceptions of competence and control, negative attributions, and a tendency to focus on negative aspects of interpersonal situations. (p. 217)

Interpersonal stress is also more closely associated with depression as opposed to externalizing disorders in children (Rudolph et al., 2000). Acculturation conflict, an interpersonal family stressor, may be especially harmful for Latino youth because Latino culture values interdependence, loyalty, and harmonious family relationships. For these reasons, understanding the direct and indirect relations between acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms in Latino youth may be particularly salient as it offers a more nuanced understanding of how the acculturation process impacts these families.

Self-esteem, as a construct, has many meanings; it may refer to global judgments of self-worth or to domain-specific evaluations of oneself in various areas such as academics and appearances (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). This dissertation focused on self-esteem as feelings of global self-worth. As a result of their meta-analyses examining self-esteem among various racial and ethnic groups, Twenge and Crocker (2002) suggest that researchers “need to move away from questions about which racial group has higher or lower self-esteem to questions about which members of these groups have high or low self-esteem and why” (p. 389).

Acculturation conflict may be an important factor to consider. In terms of acculturation conflict predicting self-esteem, theory suggests that social groups and

families may have implicit or explicit criteria regarding what makes a person worthwhile or valuable (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001). Considering the value of familismo (maintaining strong family ties, harmonious relationships, support, and loyalty) in Latino culture, it is possible that the perception of greater acculturation conflict with one's parents has the potential to make an adolescent feel that s/he is violating a cultural norm and disappointing his/her family, leading to lower self-esteem.

In sum, theory suggests that interpersonal family stress and family expectations have the potential to influence an adolescent's beliefs about the self and their relationships. This in turn has the potential to impact an adolescent's psychological adjustment. This dissertation expands upon the second half of the acculturation-gap distress model by examining factors that mediate the relation between an adolescent's report of acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms and self-esteem.

Empirical Support

For Latino adolescents, greater family conflict in general and negative daily family interactions have been linked to greater depressive symptoms (Formoso et al., 2000; Lorenzo-Blanco, Unger, Baezconde-Garbanati, Ritt-Olson, & Soto, 2012; Telzer & Fuligni, 2013). Some studies looked specifically at acculturation conflict as it predicted depressive symptoms. Consistently, in a diverse sample, Ansary and colleagues (2013) concluded that greater conflict between parents and children regarding preferred culture predicted greater depressive symptoms and social stress, particularly in females. Similarly, Huq, Stein, and Gonzalez (2015) found that greater acculturation conflict predicted greater depressive symptoms in Latino adolescents. Acculturation conflict has

also been found to predict depressive symptoms both cross-sectionally and longitudinally in Asian American youth from immigrant families (Ying & Han, 2007).

In a study of Latino adolescents, acculturation conflict was a significant predictor for greater depressive symptoms, after controlling for generation status and other family variables (cohesion and control), suggesting that this type of conflict predicts uniquely above other types of family functioning (Dennis et al., 2010). However, the mediating mechanisms underpinning this relationship remain to be explored.

Empirical literature suggests that parent-adolescent conflict and acculturative stress predict lower self-esteem for youth in immigrant families (e.g., Gil et al., 1994; Portes & Zady, 2002; Rumbaut, 1994; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2007). Furthermore, a few studies looked specifically at acculturation conflict and found that it predicts lower self-esteem in Latino youth (Dennis et al., 2010; Smokowski, Rose, & Bacallao, 2010). Despite this, the mechanisms that link acculturation conflict to self-esteem are not well understood.

Mediating Processes

Theory suggests that acculturation may influence family functioning and adolescent outcomes directly and may also influence adolescent outcomes indirectly through family functioning (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). In their integrative model, García Coll et al. (1996) propose that adaptive culture (i.e., acculturation) may directly impact child outcomes but may also influence child characteristics and family characteristics, which in turn impact child outcomes. Similarly, in their conceptual model of acculturative processes and physical health outcomes, Myers and Rodriguez (2003)

suggest that acculturative processes are not likely to exert direct effects on health outcomes; rather, this influence is mediated through various paths. Keeping in line with these conceptual models, it can be argued that the link between acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms and self-esteem may also be mediated through various paths.

Parent-Child Relationship Satisfaction as a Mediating Process

The quality of a parent-adolescent relationship is an important developmental context for adolescents (e.g., Steinberg & Morris, 2001). In line with theory (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), the empirical literature displays that acculturation conflict has a negative impact on parent-adolescent relationships and various family variables in immigrant families (e.g., Choi, He, & Harachi, 2008; Juang et al., 2012; Smokowski et al., 2008; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000). Existing research also suggests that a number of parent-adolescent relationship variables such as, poor relationship quality, less maternal support, greater control, and less family cohesion have all been factors linked to negative psychosocial outcomes in youth living in immigrant families concurrently (e.g., Bámaca-Colbert, Umaña-Taylor, & Gayles, 2012; Rivera et al., 2008) and longitudinally (e.g., Fanti, Henrich, Brookmeyer, & Kuperminc, 2008; Sher-Censor, Parke, & Coltrane, 2011).

Additionally, some research suggests that family variables mediate the relation between acculturation conflict and a child's psychological well-being. In their integration of results from two longitudinal studies with Chinese American families, Juang and colleagues (2012) concluded that parenting and family variables (e.g., family cohesion, parental hostility, parental control, alienation from parents) mediate the relation between acculturation conflict and adolescent well-being (e.g., depressive symptoms, loneliness,

self-esteem, delinquency). This study suggests that perceptions of acculturation conflict are closely linked to certain parenting and family variables in immigrant families, and through these mechanisms, acculturation conflict indirectly impacts psychosocial well-being. Only one study to my knowledge examined indirect effects of how acculturation conflict links to psychosocial outcomes in Latinos. In their study of Latino youth, Smokowski and colleagues (2008) found that greater acculturation conflict predicted greater parent-adolescent conflict in general, which led to greater internalizing symptoms and lower self-esteem.

Furthermore, some literature supports that parent-child relationship quality serves as a mediator between various acculturation processes in general and psychosocial outcomes in immigrant families. Dumka, Roosa, and Jackson (1997) concluded that a Mexican mother's supportive parenting served as the mediating mechanism linking family conflict to a child's depressive symptomology, such that greater family conflict predicted lower supportive parenting from mothers, which then predicted greater depressive symptoms in children. In a sample of Chinese adolescents, Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, and Moon (2009) found that greater acculturation gaps between a parent and adolescent led to worse quality of parenting relationship, which then in turn led to greater adolescent depressive symptomology. Although earlier in this introduction, a clear distinction was made between an "acculturation gap" and an "acculturation conflict," this empirical finding still highlights the impact that acculturation can have on a child, by indirect influence of the relationship with their parents. Other studies have examined whether various family processes mediate the relation between acculturation

gaps/differential acculturation status and adolescent mental health (e.g., Gonzales et al., 2006; Unger, Ritt-Olson, Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2009) and found that an adolescent's acculturation towards American cultural practices is related to less communication, involvement and cohesion, which in turn is predictive of problem behaviors.

As evidenced above, there are a number of parent-adolescent relationship variables (e.g., family cohesion, parental warmth, parental hostility, parental control) that have been studied in the parent-adolescent conflict literature. One aspect of the parent-adolescent relationship, that has not been well-studied, is an adolescent's satisfaction with the quality of the parent-child relationship. Parent-adolescent conflict has the potential to impact an adolescent's satisfaction with the relationship, yet this has not been specifically examined in Latino families. Relationship satisfaction is a construct which taps into whether an adolescent feels positively or negatively regarding their relationship with a parent (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985) and assesses whether the adolescent is content with the relationship or wishes it were different. Relationship satisfaction is important to examine because the quality of intimate relationships have implications for well-being (Downing-Matibag, 2009). Relative to other parent-adolescent relationship variables that have been studied in the literature, relationship satisfaction, in particular, is a more global measure of how an adolescent feels about that state of his/her relationship with a parent. This construct has been examined in the literature from both the parent's perspective and the child's perspective (e.g., Shek, 1999); this project focuses solely on the adolescent's satisfaction.

Empirical literature suggests that greater parent-adolescent conflict is related to lower relationship satisfaction (Van Doorn, Branje, Hox, & Meeus, 2009). In their study of Dutch adolescents, Van Doorn and colleagues (2009) found that a greater number of conflicts with parents each day were related to lower relationship satisfaction as reported by the adolescent.

Parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction may be most central to understanding acculturation conflict in Latino families because this family variable is consistent with the conceptualization that acculturation conflict may be felt internally, and may not always be expressed verbally or discussed with parents. Thus, an adolescent's conflictual feelings would potentially impact his or her satisfaction with the relationship, but not necessarily cause a parent to change his or her behavior. In turn, the satisfaction with the parent-adolescent relationship has the potential to impact depressive symptoms and self-esteem as adolescents may feel unsupported and distant from the family. This dissertation tested whether acculturation conflict indirectly influences adolescent outcomes through an adolescent's satisfaction of the parent-adolescent relationship. Additionally, this dissertation examined relationship satisfaction with mothers and relationship satisfaction with fathers as separate variables. Empirical evidence with Latino families suggests that the nature of the parent-adolescent relationship (i.e., level of daily involvement) is different with mothers and fathers (Updegraff, Delgado, & Wheeler, 2009). Additionally, in a sample of multi-ethnic families, Videon (2005) concluded that the father-adolescent relationship and mother-adolescent relationship have an independent and unique impact on adolescents' psychological well-being.

Private Ethnic Regard as a Mediating Process

A major task during adolescence is to establish a sense of identity, which is theorized to play an essential role in development (Erikson, 1968). For individuals of color, identity development, an important stage-salient task of adolescence, often involves the exploration of multiple social identities including ethnic and/or racial identities (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006). Ethnic identity is a dynamic variable that can change across time and place (Phinney & Ong, 2007) and refers to one's identity, or sense of self, as a member of an ethnic group and the feelings that accompany such membership (Phinney, 1990). It is an important contributor to an individual's well-being as individuals derive positive self-attitudes from belonging to groups that are meaningful to them (Phinney & Ong, 2007). The emergence of parent-child conflict in early adolescence coincides with the central developmental task of identity development (Marcia, 1994).

Different factors may impact the process of ethnic identity development such as recency of immigration, differences in parents' ethnic identities, ethnic socialization, and the ethnic make-up of the school an adolescent attends (Quintana & Vera, 1999; Rumbaut, 1994; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Phinney and Rosenthal (1992) suggested that the context of a supportive family nurtures the development of a positive ethnic identity. Consistent with this notion, empirical literature links certain aspects of familial relationships with an adolescent's ethnic identity (e.g., Okagaki & Moore, 2000). The majority of this research focuses on racial/ethnic socialization, the transmission of information regarding race and ethnicity from adults to children (Hughes et al., 2006).

Racial/ethnic socialization has been found to play an integral role in ethnic identity development among Latino youth (e.g., Supple, Ghazarian, Frabutt, Plunkett, & Sands, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Alfaro, Bámaca, & Guimond, 2009; Umaña-Taylor & Guimond, 2010). Additionally, positive family functioning, including familial support, parental warmth, autonomy granting, and family cohesion, has been associated with stronger ethnic identity in ethnic minority adolescents (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009; Phinney & Rosenthal, 1992; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992).

Consistent with the notion that family processes have the potential to drive ethnic identity development, in their longitudinal study with Latino youth, Umaña-Taylor, Zeiders, and Updegraff (2013) found that parents' ethnic socialization of their children in early adolescence predicted ethnic identity development two years later. More specifically, these researchers found that ethnic identity development was a family-driven process (e.g., influenced by perception family ethnic socialization) for US born Latino adolescents with immigrant parents, while it was a youth-driven process for US born Latino adolescents with US born parents (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013).

Research also suggests that as a group, adolescents from diverse backgrounds do not report developmental changes in their ethnic exploration and belonging over time but, within-person analyses of change revealed that individual adolescents exhibited substantial fluctuation in ethnic identity across the years, and this fluctuation was associated with concurrent changes in family cohesion, proportion of same-ethnic peers, and ethnic centrality (Kiang, Witkow, Baldelomar, & Fuligni, 2010). Furthermore, for adolescents of Latino, Asian, and European backgrounds, increases in family cohesion

were associated with increases in ethnic belonging (aspect of ethnic identity). This suggests that for adolescents of various backgrounds, family cohesion and the parent-adolescent relationship play an important role in feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group.

Despite evidence that family plays an integral role in ethnic identity development for Latino youth, and that parents are one of the most influential socializing agents for their children (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011), there is only one past study to my knowledge which has examined the role of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict as it relates to an adolescent's ethnic identity in Latino families (Huq et al., 2015). This study found greater acculturation conflict predicted lower ethnic private regard for Latino adolescents. Thus, ethnic identity may serve as a mediator for the relation between acculturation conflict and adolescent psychosocial outcomes.

The dynamic relationship between identity development and psychological well-being is potentially more difficult for adolescents from immigrant families rather than non-immigrant families (Kwak, 2003). Existing literature has shown that a positive sense of ethnic identity predicts higher self-esteem, greater self-efficacy, academic achievement, better psychological-well-being and better physical health in adolescents (e.g., French & Chavez, 2010; S. J. Schwartz, Zamboanga, & Jarvis, 2007; Supple et al., 2006). A positive ethnic identity has been linked to fewer depressive symptoms in Latino youth and young adults (e.g., Contrada et al., 2001; Iturbide, Raffaelli, & Carlo, 2009; Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Rogers-Sirin & Gupta, 2012). There is solid empirical evidence to support the relation between a stronger ethnic identity and higher

self-esteem in Latino adolescents and young adults (Rivas-Drake, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, Diversi, & Fine, 2002).

However, although generally ethnic identity is associated with positive outcomes, new evidence has emerged that these effects are not universal and may be specific to outcomes. For example, in two meta-analyses of ethnic identity and well-being in ethnic minority youth, Smith and Silva (2011) and Rivas-Drake, Syed, et al. (2014) discovered that ethnic identity was consistently associated with measures of self-esteem, but not as strongly related to symptoms of depression and anxiety. One possible reason for these mixed findings regarding ethnic identity and mental health symptoms could be that many of these studies examine multiple aspects of ethnic identity: exploration, belonging, public regard, private regard, centrality, salience, and ideology (with the majority examining exploration and belonging). Different aspects of ethnic identity may function slightly differently as it relates to mental health symptoms as some aspects of ethnic identity incorporate an affective component while others do not; this may result in the mixed findings in the literature regarding depressive symptoms. This dissertation focuses solely on private regard (an affective component which assesses how positively or negatively one feels about his/her ethnic group and being a part of that group) so it has the potential to be more closely linked to depressive symptoms and self-esteem as compared to other aspects of ethnic identity, such as ethnic identity exploration (Rivas-Drake, Syed, et al., 2014).

As mentioned above, Juang and colleagues (2012) found family variables to mediate the relation between acculturation conflict and adolescent outcomes. It is

possible that ethnic identity may also function as a mediating mechanism linking acculturation conflict to outcomes. Although this particular question has not been examined in the literature, a few studies have examined ethnic identity as a mediating mechanism. In one longitudinal study, ethnic identity mediated the relation between parent ethnic socialization and increased academic self-efficacy and social competence and decreased depressive symptoms and externalizing behaviors (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). In a recent study with African American youth, Neblett, Banks, Cooper, and Smalls-Glover (2013) also found that ethnic identity served as a mediator for family ethnic socialization and greater depressive symptoms. More specifically, they found that greater ethnic socialization from parents predicted a higher ethnic private regard, which in turn predicted fewer depressive symptoms. Similarly, in a study with Latino youth, one aspect of family ethnic socialization, preparation for bias, predicted a more negative public regard (one aspect of ethnic identity), which in turn predicted greater depressive symptoms (Rivas-Drake, 2011). A recent study with Asian-American adolescents suggests that ethnic identity serves as a mediator between ethnic socialization and self-esteem but not depressive symptoms in these youth (Gartner, Kiang, & Supple, 2013). Put together, there are a limited number of studies that have examined ethnic identity as a mediating process, particularly in Latino youth. Furthermore, to my knowledge, no studies have simultaneously tested ethnic identity as a mediator of the associations between acculturation conflict and adolescent psychosocial outcomes in Latino youth. This current study seeks to understand how acculturation conflict may influence ethnic

identity development in adolescents from immigrant families, which in turn may impact depressive symptoms and self-esteem.

Peer Context

Ethnicity of Friends

During adolescence, peers and friends become increasingly important as “socializing agents” (e.g., Buehler, 2006; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). A number of studies suggest that the presence of positive peer relationships can attenuate the risks of problematic family relationships (e.g., Criss, Pettit, Bates, Dodge, & Lapp, 2002; Fotti, Katz, Afifi, & Cox, 2006; Lansford, Criss, Pettit, Dodge, & Bates, 2003; Rubin et al., 2004). In particular, for recent Latino immigrants, friendships may attenuate experiences of acculturative stress (Suárez-Orozco & Todorova, 2003), as peers are an important resource for adolescents of diverse backgrounds (Fuligni, 1997). The existing literature suggests that adolescents typically prefer same-ethnic peers as compared to cross-ethnic peers (e.g., Graham, Taylor, & Ho, 2009; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Munniksma & Juvonen, 2012) and that the preference for same-ethnic peers increases during adolescence (Shrum, Cheek, & Hunter, 1988). Despite this, in her meta-analyses of acculturation conflict, Lui (2014) highlighted that no studies have examined peer relationships as indicators of immigrant youth’s adjustment.

Theory suggests that same-ethnic relationships are beneficial because similar experiences and values provide a sense of safety and closeness (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954). This sense of closeness may make adolescents feel that their friend understands them better (McGill, Way, & Hughes, 2012). Same-ethnic friendships are characterized

by having more shared activities than cross-ethnic friendships (Kao & Joyner, 2006). Consistent with theory, empirical literature suggests that there are benefits to having same-ethnic friendships as these friendships are related to more self-disclosure and greater emotional well-being (e.g., McGill et al., 2012; A. L. Schwartz, Galliher, & Domenech Rodríguez, 2011). In their study of Latino, Black, Asian American and White adolescents, McGill and colleagues (2012) found that Black and Asian American youth with only same-ethnic best friends had higher self-esteem and lower depressive symptoms than individuals who had only cross-ethnic best friends. This suggests that there may be something protective about having peers of your same ethnicity, or, rather, there be something harmful about not having any same-ethnic peers. With that said, there are also certain benefits to cross-ethnic friendships such that individuals with more ethnically diverse friends view other ethnic groups more positively, feel safer at school, and experience less victimization (e.g., Graham, Munniksma, & Juvonen, 2014; Knifsend & Juvonen, 2014; Munniksma & Juvonen, 2012).

Considering the beneficial nature of same-ethnic peers, it is possible that these friendships may also play a role in the face of acculturation conflict for adolescent youth. More specifically, it is possible that when adolescents' experience acculturation conflicts with their parents, same-ethnic friends' disclosure and support to one another can buffer the impact of the conflict on depressive symptoms and self-esteem. In a study of Dutch early adolescents, Sentse, Lindenberg, Omvlee, Ormel, and Veenstra (2010) concluded that peer acceptance buffered parental rejection but parental acceptance did not buffer peer rejection in predicting internalizing and externalizing problems. This highlights the

potential influence of peers in the face of parental conflict; this relation may be particularly salient in Latino families because research has shown that adolescents in immigrant families may feel a sense of alienation from their parents (e.g., Juang et al., 2012; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). The buffering effect of same-ethnic peers on the relation between acculturation conflict and outcomes in Latinos has not been examined in the literature.

In addition to self-esteem and internalizing and externalizing symptoms, same-ethnic friendships have also been associated with ethnic identity exploration and commitment both concurrently and longitudinally (Kiang et al., 2010; Syed & Juan, 2012; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2010). Empirical evidence supports that same-ethnic friendships foster stronger feelings of belonging and exploration in adolescents from Latin American and Asian backgrounds (Kiang & Fuligni, 2009). Based on the empirical evidence that a strong ethnic identity is related to choosing more same-ethnic friends among African American and Latino adolescents (Hamm, Brown, & Heck, 2005), Graham et al. (2014) hypothesized that the unique functions of same-ethnic friendships may surround “issues of validation, such as supporting the development of a strong ethnic identity” (p. 471). In their study of Latino and African American middle school students, Graham and colleagues (2014) found that same-ethnic friendships were uniquely associated with a stronger private regard. In other words, the more Latino friends that a Latino adolescent had and the more African American friends that an African American adolescent had, the stronger their positive feelings about being a member of their ethnic group. This relation possibly exists because same-ethnic peers may engage in cultural

activities together and share stories about their experiences with one another. In fact, Syed and Juan (2012) found that conversations about ethnicity-related issues among same-ethnic friendship dyads were related to strong ethnic identity in a college-age sample. It is possible that in the face of acculturation conflict at home, adolescents may share their experiences of this conflict and relate with one another. This could lead to both more relationship satisfaction with parents and a stronger private ethnic regard because being able to relate to one's peers has the potential to normalize acculturation conflict.

This current study aims to build on the peer support literature, such that it will examine the exploratory question of whether the presence of same-ethnic peers buffers the negative impact of acculturation conflict on depressive symptoms, self-esteem, private ethnic regard, and relationship satisfaction with parents among Latino youth.

Demographic Considerations

Experiences of acculturation and acculturation conflict for Latino adolescents growing up in an emerging community has the potential to be quite different when compared to Latino adolescents growing up in a community where Latinos are more established. For this dissertation project, the sample was collected in an emerging Latino community. Emerging communities are defined as areas (not including New York, Chicago, Miami, and Los Angeles) that have seen an influx of Latino immigrants in recent years (Stamps & Bohon, 2006). For instance, the Latino population in Raleigh, North Carolina increased by 1,180% between 1980 and 2000; 70% of that Latino population are immigrants (Suro & Singer, 2002). In an emerging community, it is more

likely that the majority of Latino individuals are immigrants or second generation, whereas in an established community, Latino individuals may be second, third, or fourth generation. Furthermore, the areas in which Latinos have been settling for generations, (e.g., New York, Florida), are more prepared for interacting with populations that speak Spanish. On the other hand, in an area that has an emerging Latino community (e.g., North Carolina), and that is unaccustomed to populations that speak a different language, the limited availability of bilingual professionals and resources can be challenging for Latino individuals. The communication barriers may lead to challenges in multiple settings, such as school, health care facilities, and social services (Torres, 2000). In an emerging community, the acculturation process may be hastened, as ethnic enclaves do not exist, providing an additional risk. Along those same lines, adolescents may feel more pressure to acculturate, which has the potential to lead to greater acculturation conflict, which in turn may lead to greater depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem.

Relatedly, much of the literature on acculturation has highlighted the influence of generation status on the acculturation process and mental and physical health outcomes. In a study with first, second, and third generation Latino youth, Torres (2013) found that first and second generation Latino youth report more acculturation conflict than third generation Latino youth. Similarly, in her meta-analyses, Lui (2014) indicated that second generation offspring are more likely to experience greater acculturation conflict (as a function of greater parent-child dissonance in acculturation behaviors and values) as compared to 1.5 generation Latino youth. In this same meta-analysis, the researcher also concluded that acculturation mismatch between parents and their children are more

closely related to acculturation conflict among females (Lui, 2014), highlighting that the acculturation process may impact girls and boys differently in the family context. In the current study, considering the limited variability with regards to nativity status as well as the small sample size, sex and nativity were entered as control variables.

Goals and Hypotheses of the Proposed Study

Consistent with García Coll and colleagues' (1996) request that researchers should seek to understand processes when studying ethnic minority youth's normative development, as opposed to focusing exclusively on outcomes, this study hopes to contribute to the literature on Latino families by examining how an adolescent's experience of acculturation conflict functions in Latino immigrant families, as well as how these conflictual feelings influence and intersect with a developmental task (identity development) and the parent-adolescent relationship to predict depressive symptoms and self-esteem. A more nuanced understanding of acculturation conflict in Latino immigrant families also has clinical implications that could guide treatment and therapy.

The initial goal of this study was to investigate whether an adolescent's perception of acculturation conflict with his or her parents predicts greater depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem among seventh- and eighth-grade Latino students in an emerging Latino community in North Carolina. The central goal of this study was to explore the mechanisms by which acculturation conflict predicts these outcomes. In particular, this study examined how parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction and ethnic private regard served as mediators between acculturation conflict and adolescent depressive symptoms and self-esteem. Additionally, another goal of this study was to

expand our understanding of how the peer context serves as a protective factor in the presence of acculturation conflict with parents. This study adds to the empirical literature by examining the direct and indirect effects linking acculturation conflict to various family and psychosocial outcomes.

It was hypothesized that greater acculturation conflict would predict greater depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem. It was also hypothesized that relationship satisfaction and ethnic private regard would serve as the mechanisms for this relation. More specifically, it was hypothesized that greater acculturation conflict would predict lower parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction and lower ethnic private regard, which in turn would predict worse outcomes. Additionally, it was hypothesized that in the face of acculturation conflict, having a greater proportion of Latino friends would serve as a protective factor, such that the relation between acculturation conflict and ethnic private regard, parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction, depressive symptoms, and self-esteem would be attenuated by the presence of Latino friends (see Figure 1 for hypothesized model).

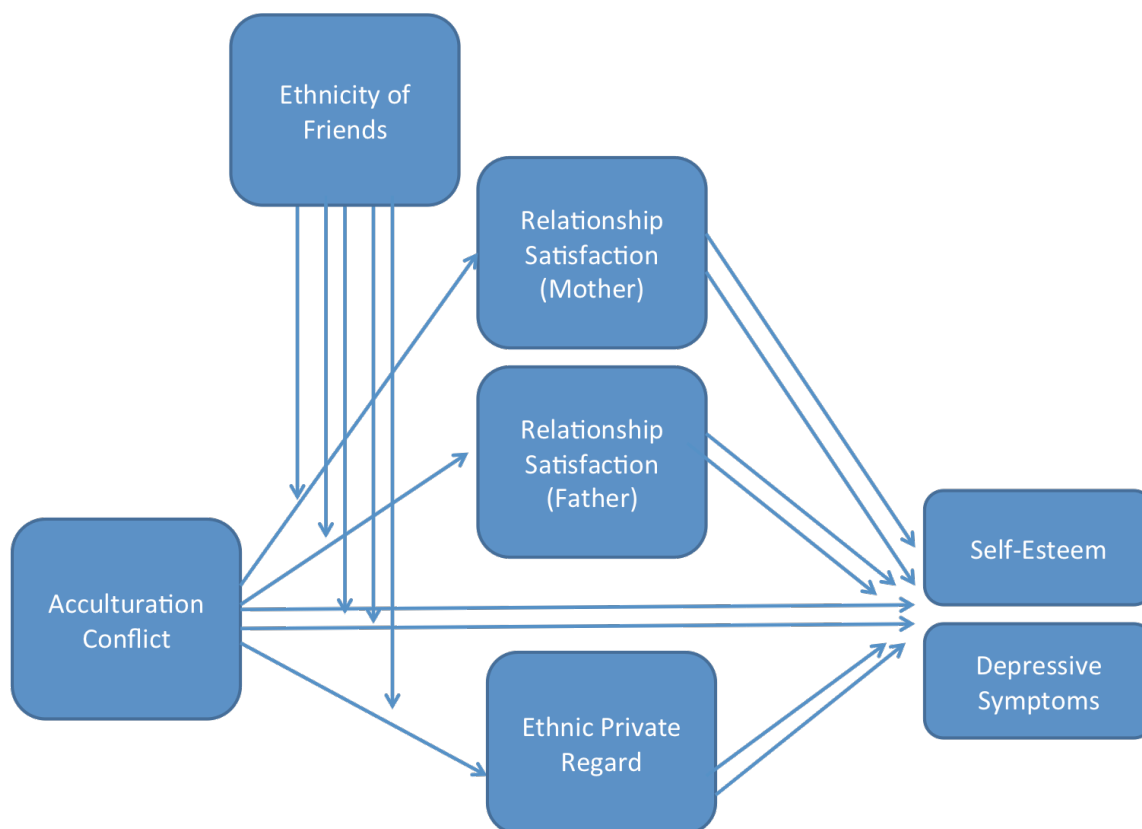


Figure 1. Full Conceptual Model (Models 1 and 2 Combined).

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

The present study was drawn from a larger study (La Familia en Carolina) that included 140 Latino mothers and their adolescent (age range = 11–14). The sample consisted of seventh and eighth graders ($n = 140$) from two middle schools in a rural, central region of North Carolina. The majority of adolescents in this sample were in the seventh grade (75%). The ethnic composition of these middle schools were: 40.6% Latino, 39.3% White, 14.5% Black. The final sample included adolescents with a mean age of 12.88 years ($SD = .70$). The sample consisted of 51% females, and was primarily Mexican in origin (81%). Although the sample is majority of Mexican origin, Latino will be used for parsimony. The sample primarily included second generation Latino youth (adolescents who were born in the U.S.; 87%). Of the adolescents that were born abroad (13%), the average age of immigration to the U.S. was 2.75 years of age. All adolescent participants in this sample preferred to take the survey in English. Biological mothers served as the primary female caregiver for the majority of the youth in this study sample (98.6%). The percentage of biological fathers who serve as the primary male caregiver in the current sample is unclear. Adolescents were asked: “If your male caregiver is NOT your biological/adoptive father, then what is his relation to you?” Approximately half of the adolescents reported “Not Applicable” (which indicates that their male caregiver is

their biological/adoptive father). Other participants listed various answers including: “step father,” “my dad,” and “father.” A few participants listed other family members such as “older brother” or “uncle.” According to mother’s report, the majority of the sample (84%) has at least 2 adults in the household.

Procedure

Graduate students and project investigators visited two middle schools in a rural city in North Carolina and provided information about La Familia en Carolina during orientation days. Flyers and letters were sent home with adolescents during the school year. This school district provided the research team with contact information (i.e., phone numbers, addresses) for all of the Latino seventh- and eighth-grade students enrolled for the academic year. Using this contact information, project staff called families to identify interested and eligible families. In order to meet eligibility for the study, the families had to meet the following criteria: (a) both biological parents were Latino, (b) participating adolescent lived with the biological mother or a female caregiver, and (c) the adolescent was between 11 and 14 years of age. Project staff coordinated home-visits based on families’ availability. A second phase of data collection included door-to-door home visits to recruit families that could not be reached over the phone after 5 attempts (e.g., phone disconnected, wrong number). Research teams (comprised of a B.A. level and undergraduate level research assistant) visited families’ homes during a 5-hour time frame and either (a) left a note and flyer with information if families were not home, (b) scheduled interested families for a later date, (c) conducted the home visit, or (d) removed the family from the call log if they were not interested in participating in the

study. Research teams visited families' homes up to three times or until one of these options was met. The research team attempted to recruit 384 families for the research study via phone or door-to-door recruitment. Of the 384 families, 16 families had moved out of the school district in which the study was taking place (4%) and 133 were not reached (e.g., disconnected numbers, families not home; 55%). Of the families who were contacted ($n = 240$), 22 were not eligible (9%), 69 declined (29%), 9 consented but did not complete interviews (4%), and 140 families consented and completed interviews (58%).

Research assistants were trained in the study protocol, computer administration of the adolescent survey, and verbal administration of the parent interview, prior to conducting the research visits (approximately 10 hours of instruction). B.A. level assistants received additional training to conduct a suicidal assessment (in the case that a parent or adolescent expressed suicidal ideation or intent). In the first phase of data collection, once a family met eligibility and expressed interest in joining the study (via phone), trained research assistants (included at least one Spanish speaking research assistant and one B.A. level assistant) visited families' homes to interview and administer the questionnaires to mothers and their adolescents. Consent forms, assent forms, and assessment materials were available in Spanish and English and administered based upon participants' language preference. First, research assistants obtained assent and consent from the youth and mother, respectively, answered any questions about the study, and emphasized the confidentiality of the research process. Then, the adolescent and mother were interviewed in separate rooms of the home and a noise machine was used to ensure

privacy. One research assistant was assigned to monitor the computer administration of the interview with the adolescent and the Spanish-speaking research assistant was assigned to conduct the interview with the mother. Structured interviews were the mode of data collection for mothers to increase personal contact and respect via a relational interview style (Knight, Roosa, Calderón-Tena, & Gonzales, 2009). Interviews lasted approximately 1.5 to 2 hours. There were two versions of the parent and adolescent interviews in which measures were counterbalanced to account for order effects. Following completion of the survey, research assistants distributed a \$10 gift card to the adolescent, and \$20 to the mother for their participation. Additionally, the research assistants provided the family with a packet of information regarding college applications, scholarships, and FAFSA.

Measures

Acculturation Conflict

The Acculturation Gap Conflict Scale (AGCS; Dennis et al., 2010) was used to assess acculturation conflict. The original scale includes 23 items and three different subscales. This study utilized one of the subscales, The Preferred Culture subscale, which includes 7 items ($\alpha = .87$, Dennis et al., 2010). Similar to the original study, in the present study, this subscale also demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .89$). The measure included items such as, “My parents complain that I act too American” and “My parents wish that I would practice the customs of my culture more than I do.” Response choices were on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Items

were averaged such that higher scores indicated higher levels of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict.

Depressive Symptoms

The 33-item Mood and Feelings Questionnaire (MFQ) was used to assess depressive symptoms (Angold et al., 1987). This Likert-type scale measured the extent to which adolescents experienced depressive symptoms in the past two weeks. The measure included items such as, “I felt miserable and unhappy” and “I didn’t enjoy anything at all.” Adolescents reported whether the statement was (0) *not true*, (1) *sometimes true* or (2) *mostly true*. This measure has demonstrated adequate psychometric properties (Daviss et al., 2006) and demonstrated excellent internal consistency in this current sample ($\alpha = .94$). The items were averaged such that higher scores represented greater depressive symptoms.

Self-esteem

The 10-item Rosenberg self-esteem scale was used (Rosenberg, 1979) to measure adolescents’ self-esteem. Sample items included: “I feel that I’m a person of worth, at least on an equal place with others” and “I feel that I have a number of good qualities.” Response choices were on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Five items were reverse coded, such that, a higher score represented higher self-esteem. In the existing literature, this measure has demonstrated good psychometric properties (Schmitt & Allik, 2005). In the present study, this measure demonstrates good internal consistency ($\alpha = .82$). Items were averaged such that higher scores indicated higher levels of self-esteem.

Parent-adolescent Relationship Satisfaction

The 3-item Satisfaction subscale from the Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI; Furman & Buhrmester, 1985) was used to measure relationship satisfaction with parents. Participants rated the frequency of experiencing satisfaction with each parent from (1) *never* to (5) *always*. Sample items included, how often: “How much do you like the way things are between you and this person?” and “How satisfied are you with your relationship with this person?” Adolescents reported on both their mothers and fathers separately. The scale has shown adequate psychometric properties (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985) and showed excellent internal consistency in this sample for the items on mothers ($\alpha = .93$) and fathers ($\alpha = .96$). The items were averaged such that higher scores indicated greater relationship satisfaction with each parent.

Ethnic Private Regard

The researchers used the measure that was adapted by Kiang, Yip, Gonzales-Backen, Witkow, and Fuligni (2006) for a Latino sample. Two subscales were adapted from the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) to measure ethnic identity. Scales were shortened and items modified so that they could be relevant to and completed by members of any ethnic group. In this adaptation, scales were shortened and items modified so that they could be relevant to and completed by members of any ethnic group (i.e., “I am happy that I am Black” was changed to “I am happy that I am a member of my ethnic group.”) All items were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from (1) *strongly disagree* to (5) *strongly agree*, with higher scores reflecting higher levels of regard. The Private Regard subscale

consisted of four items and measured the extent to which adolescents had positive feelings toward their ethnic group. Sample items included, “I feel good about being a member of my ethnic group.” This measure has been used with samples of diverse ethnic backgrounds including a Latino sample, with a Cronbach’s alpha of .84 in a sample of 222 young adults (Kiang, Yip, & Fuligni, 2008). In the present study, this measure demonstrated good internal consistency ($\alpha = .86$). The items were averaged such that higher scores indicated higher ethnic private regard.

Ethnicity of Peers

Individuals were asked to think about their five best friends. Then, they were prompted to think of one friend at a time and report their friends’ initials, sex, and ethnicity. For instance, the item read, “What is your friend #1’s ethnic background?” The adolescent had to respond by saying (0) *Same as mine* or (1) *Different*. The items were reverse coded (such that 0 = different ethnicity and 1 = same ethnicity) and then averaged such that each adolescent had a score that represented the proportion of their same-ethnic peers. Higher scores indicated a higher proportion of same-ethnic peers.

Statistical Analyses

Data Analytic Plan

Path analysis was conducted using Mplus 7.2 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012) to examine the relation between acculturation conflict, relationship satisfaction with mother, relationship satisfaction with father, ethnic private regard, ethnicity of friends, and self-esteem and depressive symptoms. All variables were indicated as manifest variables. The manifest predictor variables (i.e., acculturation conflict, relationship satisfaction with

mother, relationship satisfaction with father, ethnic private regard, ethnicity of friends) were centered around the grand mean. Consistent with the conceptualization that Latino adolescents may have different relationships with their mothers and fathers (Crockett, Brown, Russell, & Shen, 2007), relationship satisfaction with mothers and relationship satisfaction with fathers were examined as separate variables within the same model. Additionally, both outcome variables (depressive symptoms and self-esteem) were included and analyzed in the same model because they are related constructs; statistically, including related outcomes in the same model is a more rigorous analysis as it accounts for the shared variance between the two outcomes. Missing data was addressed using full information maximum likelihood estimation methods (FIML), which allows for estimation of the models using all available data.

First, a baseline model (Model 1) was analyzed to examine the direct and indirect effects of acculturation conflict on depressive symptoms and self-esteem. This model tested whether acculturation conflict predicted greater depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem and also tested the mediational paths of relationship satisfaction with mothers, relationship satisfaction with fathers, and ethnic private regard as indirect effects. Then, a separate model was run to explore the moderating effects of same-ethnic peers (Model 2) on the association among parent-adolescent acculturation conflict and mediators (i.e., relationship satisfaction with mother, relationship satisfaction with father, ethnic private regard) and outcomes (i.e., depressive symptoms and self-esteem.) In the current study analyses, a bootstrapping procedure was used to test for significance of the indirect effects. Bootstrapping accounts for a non-normal distribution and is

recommended for analyses with small sample sizes (Preacher & Hayes, 2004). The calculations were based off of 1000 bootstrapped samples. Log transformations were not conducted because the bootstrapping procedure accounted for non-normality.

Model fit was evaluated using four model fit indices: the chi-square test of model fit; the Root Mean Squared Error Approximation (RMSEA); the Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). Generally, a non-significant chi-square statistic indicates a good fitting model. Additionally, an RMSEA of less than .05 indicates a close approximation and values between .05 and .08 suggest reasonable error of approximation. A CFI value greater than .95 indicates an excellent fit. Similarly, an SRMR value less than .08 indicates a good fit (Kline, 2011).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

The results indicated that overall, this sample of early adolescents reported low levels of acculturation conflict ($M = 2.21$; $SD = 0.97$), low levels of depressive symptoms ($M = 0.33$; $SD = 0.34$), and moderate levels of self-esteem ($M = 3.78$; $SD = 0.74$). Additionally, majority of adolescents were satisfied with their relationship with mothers ($M = 4.28$; $SD = 1.00$) and fathers ($M = 4.06$; $SD = 1.22$) and had strong private ethnic regard ($M = 4.35$; $SD = .69$). Notably, there was limited variability in this sample with regards to the friendship measure; on average, adolescents reported that 70% of their friends were the same ethnicity as them. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1.

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses displayed that sex ($t(137) = 2.56$, $p = .016$) and nativity status ($t(137) = 2.48$, $p = .014$) were significantly related to depressive symptoms. Females and U.S.-born adolescents reported greater depressive symptoms. For this reason, sex and nativity were entered as covariates in the analyses. The bivariate relationships of all study variables were in the expected direction. Correlations are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Correlations and Descriptive Statistics

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Acculturation conflict	1.00						
2. Mother Satisfaction	-.38**	1.00					
3. Father Satisfaction	-.29**	.48**	1.00				
4. Private Regard	-.21*	.40**	.24**	1.00			
5. Depressive Sx	.35**	-.15†	-.21*	-.13†	1.00		
6. Self-Esteem	-.50**	.36**	.26**	.32**	-.53**	1.00	
7. Same-ethnic peers	-.15†	.08	.01	.12	-.08	-.05	1.00
<i>M</i>	2.21	4.28	4.06	4.35	0.33	3.78	0.71
<i>SD</i>	0.97	1.00	1.22	0.69	0.34	0.74	0.31
Sample Range	1.00- 4.71	1.00- 5.00	1.00- 5.00	2.00- 5.00	0.00- 1.66	1.20- 5.00	0.00- 1.00
Questionnaire Response Range	1.00- 5.00	1.00- 5.00	1.00- 5.00	1.00- 5.00	0.00- 2.00	1.00- 5.00	0.00- 1.00

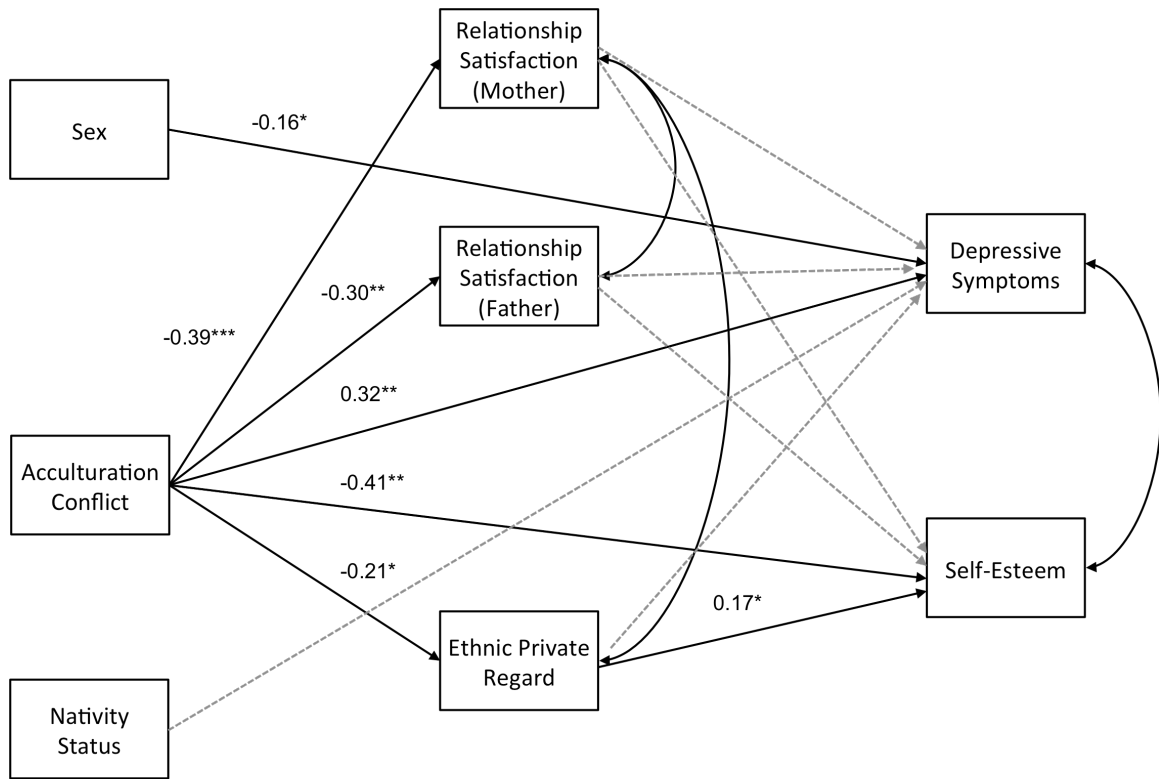
Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Model 1: Direct and Indirect Effects Model

The path analysis model (Model 1; see Figure 2) provided a good fit to the data ($\chi^2(9) = 10.681, p = 0.30$; RMSEA = .04; CFI = .99; SRMR = .04). As hypothesized, results from Model 1 (see Table 2) indicated that greater acculturation conflict predicted lower relationship satisfaction with mothers ($\beta = -0.39, p = .000$), lower relationship satisfaction with fathers ($\beta = -0.30, p = .001$), lower ethnic private regard ($\beta = -0.21, p = .014$), greater depressive symptoms ($\beta = .32, p = .001$), and lower self-esteem ($\beta = -0.41,$

$p = .000$). Additionally, as hypothesized, lower ethnic private regard predicted lower self-esteem ($\beta = 0.17, p = .020$).

With regards to nonsignificant paths, and contrary to hypotheses, relationship satisfaction with mothers ($\beta = 0.03, p = .776$), relationship satisfaction with fathers ($\beta = -0.12, p = .363$), and ethnic private regard ($\beta = -0.07, p = .469$) did not predict depressive symptoms. Additionally, relationship satisfaction with mothers ($\beta = 0.12, p = .160$) and relationship satisfaction with fathers ($\beta = 0.04, p = .620$) did not predict self-esteem.



Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 2. Model 1 of Significant Direct and Indirect Effects.

Table 2

Model Estimates for Model 1 (Standard Errors in Parentheses; $N = 140$)

Parameter Estimate	Unstandardized	Standardized	p
Acculturation Conflict → Mother Relation. Satisfaction	-0.39 (.09)	-0.39	.000
Acculturation Conflict → Father Relation. Satisfaction	-0.37 (.11)	-0.30	.001
Acculturation Conflict → Ethnic Private Regard	-0.15 (.06)	-0.21	.014
Acculturation Conflict → Depressive Symptoms	0.12 (.03)	0.32	.001
Acculturation Conflict → Self-Esteem	-0.31 (.06)	-0.41	.000
Mother Rel. Satisfaction → Depressive Symptoms	0.01 (.04)	.03	.776
Mother Rel. Satisfaction → Self-Esteem	0.09 (.06)	0.12	.16
Father Rel. Satisfaction → Depressive Symptoms	-0.03 (.04)	-0.12	.363
Father Rel. Satisfaction → Self-Esteem	0.03 (.05)	0.04	.62
Ethnic Private Regard → Depressive Symptoms	-0.03 (.05)	-0.07	.469
Ethnic Private Regard → Self-Esteem	0.19 (.08)	0.17	.02
Gender → Depressive Symptoms	-0.12 (.05)	-0.16	.020
Nativity Status → Depressive Symptoms	-0.12 (.10)	-0.12	.227
Residual for Mother Relationship Satisfaction	0.82 (.13)	.85	.000
Residual for Father Relationship Satisfaction	1.34 (.21)	.91	.000
Residual for Ethnic Private Regard	0.45 (.05)	.96	.000
Residual for Depressive Symptoms	0.09 (.01)	.82	.000
Residual for Self-Esteem	0.37 (.06)	.69	.000

Note. $\chi^2(9) = 10.68, p = .30$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .04. Rel. = Relationship.

Tables 3 and 4 display the bootstrapped estimates for the total and specific indirect effects of acculturation conflict on depressive symptoms and self-esteem through

relationship satisfaction with mother, relationship satisfaction with father, and ethnic private regard.

Table 3

Indirect Effects of Acculturation Conflict on Depressive Symptoms through Parent-Adolescent Relationship Satisfaction and Private Ethnic Regard for Model 1

Mediator	Estimate	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
Mother Relation. Satisfaction	-0.004	0.015	-0.037	0.025
Father Relation. Satisfaction	0.012	0.014	-0.008	0.049
Ethnic Private Regard	0.005	0.008	-0.007	0.025
Total Indirect Effect	0.012	0.015	-0.012	0.048

Note. Based on 1,000 bootstrap samples.

Table 4

Indirect Effects of Acculturation Conflict on Self-Esteem through Parent-Adolescent Relationship Satisfaction and Private Ethnic Regard for Model 1

Mediator	Estimate	SE	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower	Upper
Mother Relation. Satisfaction	-0.034	0.025	-0.086	0.009
Father Relation. Satisfaction	-0.010	0.022	-0.065	0.025
Ethnic Private Regard	-0.028	0.016	-0.072	-0.004
Total Indirect Effect	-0.072	0.030	-0.139	-0.019

Note. Based on 1,000 bootstrap samples.

The total indirect effect of acculturation conflict on self-esteem through relationship satisfaction with mother, relationship satisfaction with father, and ethnic private regard is significant ($B = -0.072, p = .018, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.139, -0.019]$); this suggests that a mediational effect is present. However, partially consistent with hypotheses, the specific indirect effect of acculturation conflict on self-esteem through ethnic private regard was the only statistically significant specific indirect effect ($B = -0.028, p = .086, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.072, -0.004]$). The specific indirect effects of acculturation conflict on self-esteem through relationship satisfaction with mother ($B = -0.034, p = .173, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.086, 0.009]$) and relationship satisfaction with father ($B = -0.010, p = .656, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.065, 0.025]$) were not significant. This means that along with the significant direct effect of acculturation conflict on self-esteem, ethnic private regard served as the only significant mediational effect for this relation in the model.

Contrary to hypotheses, the total indirect effect of acculturation conflict on depressive symptoms through relationship satisfaction with mother, relationship satisfaction with father, and ethnic private regard was not significant ($B = 0.012, p = .406, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.012, 0.048]$). This means that although there is a significant direct effect of acculturation conflict on depressive symptoms, there are no significant mediational effects linking acculturation conflict to depressive symptoms. In particular, relationship satisfaction with mother, relationship satisfaction with father, and ethnic private regard did not serve as significant mediators for this relation.

Model 2: Moderating Effects of Same-Ethnic Friends

The moderating effects of same-ethnic friends were examined in Model 2. Model 2 included the direct and indirect effects of acculturation conflict and adolescent adjustment outcomes (i.e., self-esteem and depressive symptoms), as well as the interaction effect (conflict X same-ethnic friends) regressed on each of the outcomes (i.e., mother relationship satisfaction, father relationship satisfaction, private ethnic regard, depressive symptoms, self-esteem). Model 2 provided a moderately good fit to the data ($\chi^2(9) = 12.849, p = 0.17$; RMSEA = .06; CFI = .98; SRMR = .04).

Contrary to hypotheses, results indicated that there were no significant interactions for any of the outcome variables (mother relationship satisfaction, $\beta = 0.10, p = .92$; father relationship satisfaction, $\beta = 0.07, p = .44$; private ethnic regard, $\beta = -0.11, p = .20$; depressive symptoms, $\beta = 0.07, p = .54$; self-esteem, $\beta = -0.05, p = .55$). This means that the presence of same-ethnic peers did not buffer the impact of acculturation conflict on any of the hypothesized mediators or outcomes.

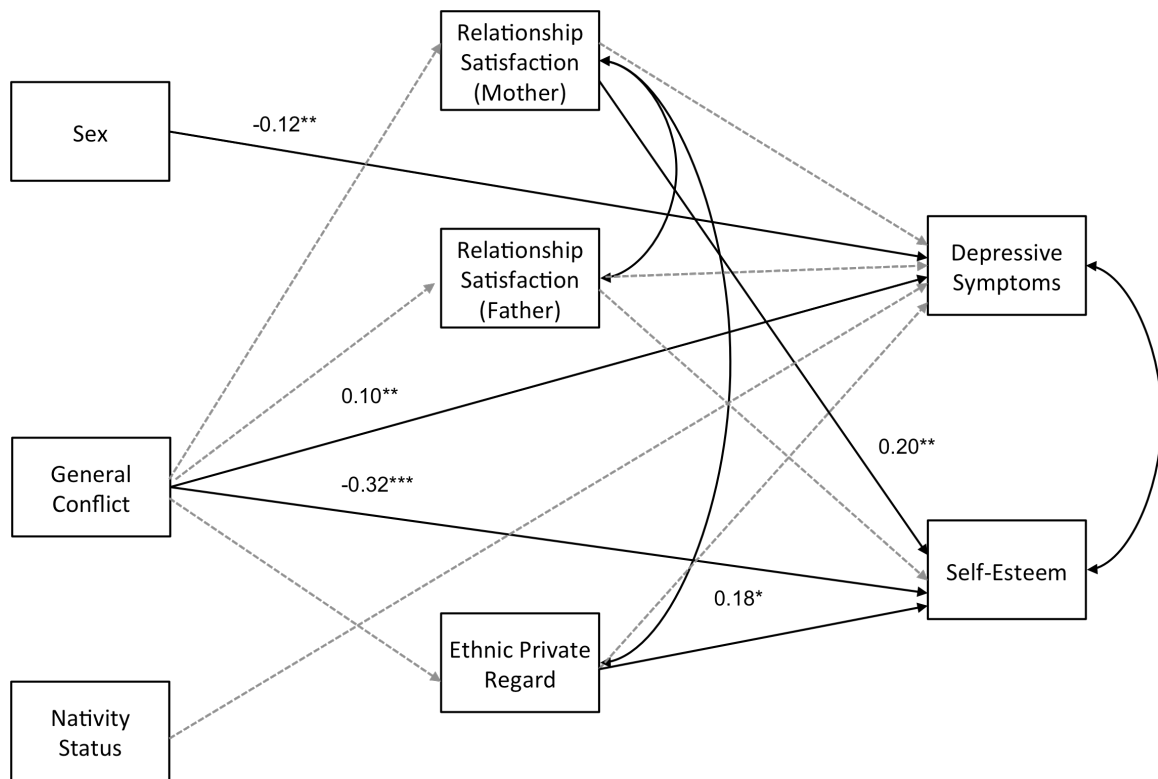
Post Hoc Analyses

The main study models were analyzed with relationship satisfaction with mothers and relationship satisfaction with fathers as separate constructs within the same model. To ensure that this model was the best fit, additional models were run examining relationship satisfaction with parents as one construct. The model fit for the main study model including relationship satisfaction with mothers and relationship satisfaction with fathers as separate constructs provided a good fit to the data ($\chi^2(9) = 10.68, p = 0.30$; RMSEA = .04; CFI = .99; SRMR = .04) whereas the fit for the model with relationship

satisfaction with mothers and fathers as a joint construct yielded a moderate fit to the data ($\chi^2(7) = 17.99, p = 0.01$; RMSEA = .11; CFI = .92; SRMR = .06). Thus, the results confirmed that including relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers as separate constructs yielded a better model fit. Furthermore, the main study models included depressive symptoms and self-esteem within the same model. To ensure that this model was the best fit, additional models were run examining self-esteem and depressive symptoms in separate models. The model fit for the depression only model provided a good fit ($\chi^2(7) = 7.05, p = 0.42$; RMSEA = .01; CFI = .99; SRMR = .04) whereas the model fit for the self-esteem only model provided a moderate fit ($\chi^2(1) = 4.78, p = 0.03$; RMSEA = .17; CFI = .97; SRMR = .04). Thus, for parsimony and model fit, it was best to analyze depressive symptoms and self-esteem in the same model. For all of the models, the main findings remained consistent.

In order to examine potential similarities and differences between acculturation conflict and general conflict, the main study model was run with a general parent-adolescent conflict measure (Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI); Furman & Buhrmester, 1985) in place of the parent-adolescent acculturation conflict measure (see Figure 3). Similar to acculturation conflict, general conflict predicted greater depressive symptoms ($\beta = 0.10, p = .004$) and lower self-esteem ($\beta = -0.32, p = .000$). However, in contrast to acculturation conflict, general conflict did not significantly predict relationship satisfaction with mothers ($\beta = 0.50, p = .874$), relationship satisfaction with fathers ($\beta = -0.17, p = .185$), or ethnic private regard ($\beta = -0.40, p = .592$). Additionally,

ethnic private regard did not mediate the relation between general conflict and self-esteem ($B = -0.007, p = .644, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.054, 0.017]$).



Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Figure 3. Post Hoc Analyses: Model of Significant Direct Effects with General Conflict.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Latino youth experience unique stressors such as acculturative stress and discrimination (Stein, Gonzalez, & Huq, 2012), yet few studies have examined one particular aspect of acculturative stress, parent-adolescent acculturation conflict, and how it impacts Latino youth. Guided by, and in the hope to expand upon, the acculturation gap-distress model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), this dissertation project aimed to discern the impact of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict on Latino early adolescents living in an emerging community. This is the first study that examined and found a mediating mechanism linking acculturation conflict to maladjustment in Latino youth. Additionally, this study provided evidence for the harmful implications of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict on both individual variables, as well as family-related variables for Latinos.

Parent-Adolescent Acculturative Conflict, Private Ethnic Regard, and Self-Esteem

Consistent with the acculturation gap-distress model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), existing empirical literature (see Lui, 2014 for review), and the study hypotheses, parent-adolescent acculturation conflict predicted lower self-esteem. Additionally, as hypothesized, private ethnic regard served as a partial mediator for the relation between acculturation conflict and self-esteem, such that, greater parent-adolescent acculturation conflict predicted lower private ethnic regard, which in turn predicted lower self-esteem.

This finding highlights that the family context plays an integral role in how Latino adolescents perceive themselves and evaluate their own self-worth and value, and this is partly due to how connected adolescents feel to their ethnic group.

Latino cultural values emphasize the importance of maintaining strong family ties and harmonious family relationships (Cauce & Domenech-Rodríguez, 2002), which in part, may explain this finding that acculturation conflict has a strong negative impact on Latino adolescents' self-evaluations. This result extends the current literature by documenting that when in conflict with parents regarding acculturation, Latino early adolescents feel less worthy, less proud, less valuable, and less satisfied with oneself, in a global sense. For Latino adolescents, negative parental interactions may be internalized as a personal failure.

Another significant contribution to the literature is the fact that ethnic private regard served as a partial mediator for the relation between acculturation conflict and self-esteem. This finding underscores the critical role that the family context plays in shaping an adolescent's ethnic identity development, which in turn impacts an adolescent's self-perceptions more generally. Specifically, the current findings illustrate that if adolescents hear messages from their parents regarding "being too American" or not "Latino enough," they feel more negatively about their ethnic group, which in turn makes them feel less valuable and less worthy in a broader sense. One possible explanation for this link is that adolescents feel that they cannot meet their parents' standards of what it means to be Latino, for which reason, they may feel disconnected from their ethnic group, and in turn feel like a failure to the family. Another possible

explanation for this relation is that in homes with greater acculturation conflict, parents may intentionally or unintentionally be giving the message that a person cannot be both Latino and American, such that, children feel forced to choose one identity. This difficult choice could lead to a lower ethnic private regard, which in turn also leads adolescents to feel less successful or dissatisfied with oneself. Additionally, in the context of greater conflict, adolescents may want to identify less with their parents, which in turn can lead them to having a lower private ethnic regard and lower self-esteem. Furthermore, when experiencing acculturation conflict, adolescents may also feel less competent in navigating Latino culture or the Latino part of their identity, which in turn, makes them feel less useful to their family unit. Consistent with these lines of reasoning, in a study with Latino adults, Carrera and Wei (2014) found that acculturative family distancing led individuals to feel less competent bi-culturally. The current study results extend this previous work by highlighting that Latino adolescents, who do not feel Latino enough, or American enough, may be at risk for a lower self-esteem.

This current study also contributes to the current ethnic identity literature more broadly, as it highlights how disagreements about acculturation-based issues may negatively influence an adolescent's ethnic identity development. Despite evidence that family plays an integral role in ethnic identity development for Latino youth, and that parents are one of the most influential socializing agents for their children (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011), to date and to my knowledge, no other studies have examined the relation between acculturation conflict and ethnic identity among Latino youth (see Huq et al., 2015, for exception). The results of the current study signify that negative parental

messages (and not just positive parental messages) regarding ethnicity have an impact on adolescents. This finding adds to the ethnic identity literature because thus far, the majority of the work studying ethnic identity has mainly examined the influence of ethnic/racial socialization (which for the most part assesses positive messages surrounding one's ethnic group) on identity development. Relatedly, in a recent study with Mexican-American adolescents, Tsai, Telzer, Gonzales, and Fuligni (2015) found that parents' cultural socialization practices were associated with strong family obligation values only among adolescents who reported low-conflict parent-child interactions. This highlights that in high-conflict homes, the transmission of positive ethnic and cultural messages may be disrupted. For this reason, it is important to understand acculturation conflict more specifically and the mechanisms by which it impacts youth.

Overall, the finding that ethnic private regard served a mediating role linking acculturation conflict to self-esteem adds to the literature as it indicates a novel mechanism linking a family context variable to an adolescent's adaptive functioning. This finding is consistent with work among Asian American youth that highlights the importance of studying the "self" in the context of one's social context (C. J. Yeh & Huang, 1996). This current study fills a noteworthy gap regarding the influence of one aspect of the family context on a salient developmental process for adolescents.

Moreover, post hoc analyses indicated that unlike acculturation conflict, general conflict did not impact an adolescent's ethnic private regard, implying that acculturation conflict has a unique effect. Further research is needed to understand the different types of parent-adolescent conflict (i.e., general conflict, acculturation conflict) that immigrant

families experience and to help determine the differential impact these conflicts have on early adolescent Latino youth. Contrary to study hypotheses, relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers did not mediate the relation between parent-adolescent acculturation conflict and self-esteem, which will be discussed more fully below.

Parent-Adolescent Acculturation Conflict and Depressive Symptoms

Also consistent with the acculturation gap-distress model (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993), existing empirical literature, and the study hypotheses, parent-adolescent acculturation conflict predicted greater depressive symptoms. However, despite the fact that acculturation conflict predicted relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers as well as ethnic private regard, none of these variables served as mediators of the relation between acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms. This suggests that additional mediational mechanisms may explain this significant direct effect. For example, greater acculturation conflict with one's parents may lead to greater depressive symptoms because the presence of conflict makes an adolescent feel that s/he is violating a cultural norm and disappointing the family. It is also possible that adolescents, who experience greater parent-adolescent acculturation conflict, ruminate over these cultural value differences and focus on the negative parent-adolescent interactions; these negative ruminations may lead to experiencing greater depressive symptoms. In the context of acculturation conflict, Latino youth may also resent their parents for imposing traditional cultural values, or, youth may blame themselves for the negative family dynamics; both of which may also predict greater depressive symptoms (Fear et al., 2009; K. H. Yeh, 2011). Considering the importance of the family unit in Latino families (Sabogal et al.,

1987), if youth blame themselves or feel responsible for the disruption of this system, they may experience greater depressive symptoms.

In their work with Hmong-American families, Bahrassa, Juan, and Lee (2013) found that perceived control mediated the relation between acculturation conflict and symptoms of depression and anxiety. In particular, they found that greater conflict between Hmong sons and their mothers was related to lower perceived control, which in turn was related to higher psychological distress. This suggests that perceived control may be a salient mediational mechanism linking conflict to depressive symptoms in immigrant families. Similarly, it is possible that some adolescents feel that the dissatisfaction with their parents will be temporary, while other adolescents may feel hopeless that the relationship will improve. Adolescents, who feel hopeless that the relationship with their parents will improve, may be at greater risk for depressive symptoms; but this current study did not examine relationship satisfaction in this nuanced manner. Along those same lines, family support may play a prominent mediating role linking acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms. The presence of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict may create a disruption of the integral parental support system within the family. Parental support may be a significant mediator, rather than an adolescent's relationship satisfaction with parents. It is also possible that adolescents, who wish their parent-adolescent relationship were better, still feel that their parents support them. Adolescents who do not feel supported by their parents may be the ones at greatest risk for depression. In fact, empirical evidence suggests that for Latino

individuals, family support is related to better physical and mental health (Mulvaney-Day, Alegria, & Sribney, 2007).

The lack of significant mediational effects may also have been due to the large amount of variance accounted for by acculturation conflict in predicting depressive symptoms ($r^2 = .18$). It is also possible that an indirect effect was not observed due to the restricted range of depressive symptoms in this sample. Furthermore, specifically for depressive symptoms, sex was entered as a control variable, as girls were significantly more likely to report depressive symptoms as compared to boys. Given traditional gender roles and variable family obligations for girls and boys, it is possible that girls and boys have different mediating mechanisms linking acculturation conflict to depressive symptoms. In fact, in their study of Mexican immigrant families, Updegraff et al. (2009) found that mechanisms linking parent-adolescent relationship qualities to youth adjustment were moderated by adolescent gender. Additionally, their findings revealed stronger associations between parent-adolescent relationship qualities and youth adjustment for girls as compared to boys (Updegraff et al., 2009). As the sample size in the current study precluded examining gender as a moderator, future research should examine mechanisms linking family variables to adolescent outcomes by adolescent gender.

Although the study results did not yield any mediating mechanisms regarding depressive symptoms, the findings still contribute to the acculturation and depression literature with Latino youth; the study findings highlight the strong link between parent-adolescent acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms for Latinos in their early

adolescence living in an emerging Latino community. This is particularly important as there is an increasing number of Latino youth in the US (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011) and because Latino youth exhibit a high risk for depressive symptoms (Roberts, Roberts, & Chen, 1997; Twenge & Nolen-Hoeksema, 2002).

Parent-Adolescent Acculturation Conflict and Relationship Satisfaction

Contrary to hypotheses, relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers did not serve as a mediating mechanism for acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms or self-esteem. As mentioned above, it is possible that there were other salient mediators linking acculturation conflict to depressive symptoms and self-esteem, which were not examined in this study. Notably, however, acculturation conflict was a significant and strong predictor of relationship satisfaction. This suggests that in fact, adolescents who experience more acculturation conflict with their parents are significantly less satisfied with their relationships with their mothers and fathers. It is possible that relationship satisfaction may, in turn, impact other outcomes that are more behavioral in nature. For instance, it might be that adolescents who are less satisfied with the parent-adolescent relationship, spend less time with their family, communicate less with their parents, or exhibit more externalizing symptoms (i.e., defiance, aggression) as opposed to the internalizing outcomes examined in this study (i.e., depressive symptoms, self-esteem). Another explanation may be that relationship satisfaction with parents and acculturation conflict are closely tied together and reflective of a broader correlated construct. Acculturation conflict and relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers have strong bivariate correlations in this sample, which provides evidence that they are closely

related; however, longitudinal research will be especially important to understand and disentangle how these two constructs impact one another and adolescent outcomes.

Post hoc analyses indicated that general conflict with parents did not predict relationship satisfaction with mothers and fathers. This finding suggests that there may be something specific and unique about acculturation conflict, as this particular type of conflict was closely related to parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction. One possibility is that adolescents may view general conflict as more temporary and situational, as opposed to acculturation conflict, which may be viewed as a more permanent and ongoing type of conflict. Thus, adolescents may feel that general conflict will subside, whereas differences regarding acculturation will not. This difference may partially explain why general conflict does not have the same implications as acculturation conflict. Further research is needed to determine how general conflict among immigrant families impacts the family context.

Developmental Considerations

In the current study with a young adolescent sample, the relation between acculturation conflict and self-esteem was stronger than the relation between acculturation conflict and depressive symptoms. This finding is consistent with the recent meta-analyses in which Lui (2014) found that parent-adolescent acculturation conflict has a greater impact on *adaptive functioning* (i.e., self-esteem and life satisfaction) for adolescents, while parent-adolescent acculturation conflict was most detrimental for *internalizing disorders* among young adults. Considering Lui (2014)'s work, as adolescents get older, parent-adolescent acculturation conflict has a differential impact on

various outcomes. One explanation may be that as adolescents age, they feel more hopeless with the continued ongoing conflict with parents. This may contribute to feelings of depression. Additionally, as adolescents get older and enter adulthood, disagreement with parents regarding culture and values could have greater implications as it may impact life decisions (i.e., moving away to college, choosing a career, choosing a partner.) In general, parent-child conflict may be viewed as more normative during adolescence, which may also explain the differential outcomes for conflict in adolescence versus young adulthood. Relatedly, acculturation conflict may also predict different family variables (i.e., support, communication, satisfaction, trust) at different stages of adolescence. This highlights the importance of context, specifically, age and developmental stage, when examining the impact of acculturation conflict.

Theoretically, early adolescence is a time in which individuals are developing a sense of self and their identity, as well as a time with increased parent-adolescent conflict (Marcia, 1994; Steinberg & Morris, 2001), but no previous studies have explicitly linked acculturation conflict to ethnic identity development and self-esteem. This question is especially important as Neblett and colleagues (2012) identified ethnic private regard as one of the most salient promotive factors for ethnic minority youth. The current study finding that parent-adolescent acculturation conflict predicted lower ethnic private regard, which in turn impacted lower self-esteem, illustrates the importance of understanding acculturative stressors during early adolescence, as it may have a substantial impact on the development of identity and self-perceptions. The early adolescence period is a unique period to examine conflict, because along with the influence of parental figures,

peers start to play an influential socializing role at this time (Buehler, 2006; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Early adolescents often start spending more time with their peers (Steinberg & Morris, 2001) and may be gaining more exposure to “American” culture.

Notably, youth in their early adolescence are often still living at home with their parents and may experience acculturation conflict on a daily basis; this likely has different implications as compared to late adolescent/young adult college-going individuals who may not be living at home. Thus, the existing empirical work with older Latino populations (i.e., Bahrassa et al., 2011; R. H. G. Chung, 2001; Dennis et al., 2010) should be interpreted with caution when thinking of early adolescents, as the impact of the acculturation process on older youth may be different.

Parent-Adolescent Acculturation Conflict and the Peer Context

Contrary to my hypothesis, a greater proportion of same-ethnic peers did not buffer the experiences of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict on any family or psychosocial outcomes. In fact, the presence of same-ethnic peers was not significantly related to any of the study variables. There are a number of possibilities on why this study did not yield significant results regarding same-ethnic peers. For one, the critical component may not be the presence of same-ethnic friends as it was measured in the current study, but rather, the level of support or peer ethnic socialization one receives from friends which is imperative. In order to gather a nuanced understanding of whether same-ethnic peers normalize the experience of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict, it would be important to capture and measure whether an adolescent feels that his/her same-ethnic peers are also experiencing similar conflict with their parents. Additionally, it would be

important to gather information on the level of support adolescents feel by their peers and how adolescents talk with one another about their experiences of acculturation conflict. Another possibility on why this current study did not yield significant results regarding same-ethnic peers may be due to the limited variability in this sample with regards to this measure; a large majority of the adolescents reported having at least one same-ethnic peer. Another possible explanation for the non-significant results is that current sample size was underpowered to test this moderational effect.

The context for adjustment is more complicated in ethnic minority groups as compared to other groups (Lui, 2014). A cultural-ecological framework and a developmental science perspective emphasize the importance of context and how different aspects of one's context interact dynamically with an individual, impacting his or her development and well-being (i.e., García Coll et al., 1996; Magnusson & Cairns, 1996). Related to an adolescent's peer context, the overall ethnic density of an adolescent's school and neighborhood may be an important context to consider. Additionally, another factor to consider is whether the community is an established Latino enclave or an emerging Latino community. Research suggests that immigrants and ethnic minorities living in ethnic enclaves tend to have better individual adjustment (Stafford, Newbold, & Ross, 2011). In the current study, the sample consisted of Latino youth living in an emerging Latino community, but, the Latino population in the school was considerably large, which may be a critical factor explaining the overall well-adjusted Latino adolescents in the sample. This also may explain the limited variability in the same-ethnic peers measure, as the opportunity to have a large number of Latino

friends was high for the Latino adolescents in this sample. In her meta-analysis, Lui (2014) found that acculturation mismatch and acculturation conflict with parents was more problematic for youth who lived in non-ethnically concentrated regions (more than 50% of state population is Anglo American; APA Presidential Task Force on Immigration, 2013). This suggests that immigrant youth benefit from living in a place where there are more people of color that possibly share similar cultural values. In ethnically diverse areas, it is likely that there are more supports in place to navigate the acculturation process.

Limitations of the Present Study and Future Directions

While this study has some significant strengths, there are limitations that should also be considered. One limitation is the lack of longitudinal data. As Lui (2014) acknowledges in her meta-analysis, the majority of the empirical work on acculturation conflict utilizes cross-sectional studies with only a few longitudinal studies. It is imperative that future studies examine acculturation conflict, mechanisms, and its influence on psychosocial outcomes, particularly ethnic identity, longitudinally, to establish directionality. It is possible that adolescents experiencing depressive symptoms and low self-esteem may be more sensitive to experiences of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict. Or, these individuals may be more likely to ruminate over negative family interactions, for which reason they are likely to interpret more conflict in the family. With that said, theoretically and with the extant empirical literature, there is evidence that conflict predicts these psychosocial outcomes as opposed to the other way around (i.e., Lawton & Gerdes, 2014). Longitudinal studies would also provide more

clarity to the relation between acculturation processes and ethnic identity. It is possible that an adolescent's ethnic identity may impact future levels of acculturation conflict, but, until longitudinal data is examined, this question cannot be thoroughly examined. One longitudinal study with Latino youth found that ethnic identity development is a family-driven process for second generation Latino youth (U.S.-born youth with immigrant parents; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). More specifically, this research group found that youths' perceptions of family ethnic socialization in late adolescence were associated with significantly greater ethnic identity exploration and resolution in emerging adulthood (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2013). Thus, in relation to the current study, if a positive message regarding one's ethnic group in the family context has a long-term effect on ethnic identity development, negative messages in the context of parent-adolescent acculturation conflict may also impact an adolescent's ethnic identity in the long-term.

The field needs to work towards a better conceptualization of acculturation conflict. More specifically, in the current literature, there is limited discussion regarding how acculturation conflict may take the form of verbal arguments and disagreements, as well as internalized conflictual feelings that an adolescent develops (because of subtle comments or exchanges with ones' parents.) It would be beneficial to have an acculturation conflict measure that clearly taps into verbal acculturation conflict (i.e., in the form of disagreements), non-verbal internal conflictual feelings, as well as "subtle" exchanges between parents and their children regarding acculturation differences.

This current study captured and measured one aspect of acculturation conflict, which taps into internalized feelings as well as possible verbal disagreements,

surrounding acculturation issues specifically. There are many other ways to measure acculturation conflict. Broadly, within the field, acculturation conflict in immigrant families is not consistently measured. The inconsistencies in conceptualization and measurement lead to unclear empirical findings. Much of the existing literature measures conflict more generally (i.e., frequency of arguments) in immigrant families; thus, it is largely unclear the content of the arguments and disagreements. Furthermore, some researchers use measures of acculturation conflict specifically, while others use differing acculturation variables as a proxy for acculturation conflict. Additionally, within specific measures for acculturation conflict, some items may assess for the presence of verbal acculturation conflict directly, while other items tap into conflictual feelings. In order to thoroughly examine acculturation conflict, there needs to be improved and refined measurement for parent-adolescent conflict within immigrant families. A refined instrument, specifically addressing the content, attributions, frequency, nature, and intensity of conflict issues, would provide researchers the ability to gain a more nuanced understanding of conflict.

An additional limitation in the current study is that adolescents reported retrospectively on conflict with their parents, which although meaningful, is only one way to measure parent-adolescent conflict in families. In the future, it would be beneficial to also conduct a greater number of daily-diary studies to capture parent-adolescent conflict as it occurs (e.g., G. H. Chung, Flook, & Fuligni, 2009; Kiang & Fuligni, 2009) and determine whether there is a consensus across retrospective and daily measurements of parent-adolescent conflict. It will be especially compelling to examine

whether daily changes in parent-adolescent acculturation conflict coincide with similar changes in ethnic private regard. Although ethnic identity was once viewed as stable and static, a substantial amount of research suggests that identity is dynamic (Phinney, 1990). Thus, given the current findings, it is possible that a Latino adolescent's level of positive affect towards his or her ethnic group may change as the family environment changes, possibly on a daily basis.

An additional study limitation is the lack of clarity regarding the male caregivers in this sample. Although according to mother's report, the majority of this sample had at least two or more adults living in the household, the relationship of these adults to the youth was unclear. This could be a measurement issue as the adolescents may have found the item assessing the relationship to the male caregiver confusing. Notably, the adolescents reported on a male caregiver and their relationship satisfaction with the male caregiver. Future studies should be mindful of how to gather accurate caregiver information and it may be best to gather this data from the parent. Additionally, in order to gain a nuanced understanding of family conflict and the family context, it is important to be thoughtful of the household complexity and other family members in the home.

As mentioned above, the participants in this study were adolescents living in an emerging Latino community. Future empirical studies may examine acculturation conflict with adolescents in an established Latino community as well as those living in an emerging Latino community, to determine possible differences and similarities between the two groups, allowing for greater generalizability of study results. Similarly, the majority of the sample consisted of second-generation Latino adolescents. Considering

the empirical evidence that generation status can impact the nature of acculturation stressors (Lui, 2014), future studies should examine mechanisms linking acculturation conflict to psychosocial outcomes across a sample of Latino youth of varying generation statuses.

Also, it would be beneficial for future research to examine the role of siblings and other family members as it interacts with parent-adolescent acculturation conflict in predicting developmental and psychosocial outcomes in Latino youth. Notably, like parents, siblings also serve as socializing agents for adolescents (Parke, 2004), for which reason they may influence the development of private ethnic regard in Latino youth. Additionally, it is possible that having siblings may normalize the experiences of acculturation conflict with parents if an adolescent observes one's siblings experiencing similar acculturation challenges. Also, siblings may impact the relation between acculturation conflict and psychosocial outcomes as they may serve a supportive role in the context of conflict. Along with siblings, it would be interesting to examine whether the presence of extended family living in the home (i.e., grandparents) would influence the nature of family conflict, as well as the impact of acculturation conflict on outcomes.

Lastly, the post hoc analysis examining general conflict suggests that general conflict, as compared to acculturation conflict, has a differential impact on Latino adolescents. Further research needs to examine the differential mechanisms linking various types of conflict to adolescent outcomes in Latino families. The current study results suggest that private ethnic regard serves as a unique mediating mechanism linking acculturation conflict, specifically, to self-esteem. Additionally, the results signified that

unlike acculturation conflict, general conflict did not impact parent-adolescent relationship satisfaction. It is possible that general conflict is related to other parent-adolescent relationship variables.

Conclusion and Study Implications

Overall, the current sample reported low levels of acculturation conflict. This suggests that although acculturation conflict may be a normative part of the acculturation process for immigrant families, most families likely experience low levels of this type of conflict. The majority of the sample included second-generation youth, and it appeared that most of these Latino families were successfully navigating the potential challenges of acculturation and finding a balance with Latino culture and American culture; but, when parent-adolescent acculturation conflict was present, it had harmful implications. In fact, in a recent study with Mexican immigrant parents and their children, Nieri and Bermudez-Parsai (2014) found that cultural differences were viewed as normative and inevitable. Additionally, when there was conflict between parents and their children, it was viewed as a result of generational or developmental differences, not necessarily as a cultural difference (Nieri & Bermudez-Parsai, 2014). Similarly, in a study with Hmong American college students, Bahrassa and colleagues (2013) found that these late adolescents/young adults were more likely to attribute conflict with their mothers and fathers as being due to non-cultural, rather than cultural reasons. Put together, these findings suggest that while acculturation conflict may be normative and occur in immigrant family homes, the frequency of this conflict is still quite low.

Similarly, the majority of the adolescents in our sample reported low levels of depression, moderate levels of self-esteem, high levels of relationship satisfaction with both parents, and high levels of ethnic private regard, suggesting that for the most part, they are well-adjusted. Recent research suggests that Mexican American adolescents may be more similar in their acculturation levels with parents than previously hypothesized (Nieri et al., 2014). A part of this may be that parents in fact are also more likely reporting as bicultural than previously theorized. Overall, the Latino youth in this current study sample may have a supportive family, community, and school environment, which are facilitating their positive emotional well-being. Notably, it is possible that there was some selection bias in our sample and the well-adjusted families were more willing to be a part of the study while the more distressed families chose not to participate; this may explain the restricted range in some of the variables. Additionally, the families that were difficult to contact may have more limited financial resources (i.e., less likely to have a consistent phone). Additionally, this is a community sample, which may explain why less depressive symptoms were observed.

Nevertheless, the current findings highlight that the family unit is an influential socializing factor for youth of color (e.g., Parke, 2004; Rodriguez, Umaña-Taylor, Smith, & Johnson, 2009). The study findings are consistent with the existing literature that acculturation conflict has a negative impact on an adolescent's depressive symptoms, self-esteem, and aspects of the parent-child relationship. More importantly, current findings fill a gap in the acculturation literature as it highlights the significant indirect effect of ethnic private regard linking parent-adolescent acculturation conflict and self-

esteem. This illustrates that for Latino youth, the conceptualization of the self is closely impacted by the family context. Broadly, the current study provides a more nuanced understanding of how a family process impacts a developmental process and well-being for Latino adolescent youth, as it is the first study examining ethnic identity as a mediating mechanism linking parent-adolescent acculturation conflict to well-being.

A greater understanding of acculturation conflict may help explain some of the mixed findings in the acculturation-gap literature. Some studies suggest that acculturation gaps lead to poor psychosocial outcomes while others find that these gaps are unrelated to psychosocial outcomes for immigrant youth (see Telzer, 2010 for review). As suggested by Telzer (2010), rather than solely examining the presence of parent-adolescent acculturation gaps, researchers should examine the contexts in which gaps lead to conflict. I argue that it is also important to explore the different mechanisms linking conflict to various psychosocial outcomes, as this may be an integral part of the acculturation process. In her review of the acculturation gap-distress model, Telzer (2010) proposed that individual and contextual factors might moderate the first relation in this model (acculturation gaps predicting family functioning). Considering the current study finding that ethnic identity served as a mediating mechanism between acculturation conflict and self-esteem, it may also be important to more closely examine the second part of the acculturation gap-distress model (family functioning predicting youth adjustment) to further our understanding of how acculturation processes impact youth. Similarly, these study findings are also consistent with the Integrative Model of Child Development

(García Coll et al., 1996) as I found that a family process related to acculturation predicts a developmental outcome, ethnic identity and mental health outcomes.

Regarding clinical implications, this study highlights the importance of working with Latino parents and adolescents regarding the acculturation process and conflict that may occur surrounding differential values. Empirical evidence suggests that Latino Americans, who report higher family cultural conflict, are more likely to utilize mental health services (Chang, Natsuaki, & Chen, 2013). Thus, it is especially essential that clinicians know how to address family cultural conflict and guide their intervention to address the conflict as well as the mechanisms by which the conflict impacts well-being. In fact, in a recent study, Carrera and Wei (2014) found that Latino college students who experience greater acculturative family distancing, have a lower level of bicultural competence, which in turn is related to higher levels of depression. They suggest that if bicultural competence can be enhanced in those Latino young adults, their depression may be reduced. Notably, Carrera and Wei's (2014) study was conducted with an older sample than in the present study; thus, the results of that study may not generalize to early adolescents. Despite this, it is still an important finding and is consistent with Szapocznik and Kurtines's (1993) work on bicultural effectiveness training and the importance of family members developing bicultural competency in the face of cultural conflict. In sum, when present, acculturation conflict in Latino families has the potential to negatively impact adolescent adjustment and interfere with important developmental tasks that characterize adolescence. More work is needed to identify notable contextual

factors and other salient mediating mechanisms that link acculturation conflict to adolescent outcomes.

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APPENDIX A

MEASURES

AGCS (Acculturation Gap Conflict Scale)

Please rate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

1 strongly disagree

2

3 neutral

4

5 strongly agree

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

Q400. 10. My parents wish that I would practice the customs of my culture more than I do.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q401. 11. My parents complain that I act too American

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q402. 12. I've had some problems within my family because I prefer American customs more than they do.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q403. 13. I get upset at my parents because they do not know American ways of doing things.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q404. 14. I feel uncomfortable because I have to choose between Latin and non-Latin ways of doing things.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q405. 15. I've been embarrassed of my parents because they do not know American ways of doing things.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q406. 16. I feel uncomfortable having to choose between my parents' ways of doing things and American ways of doing things.

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Depressive symptoms

This form is about how you might have been feeling or acting recently. For each questions, please choose how much you have felt or acted this way in the *past two weeks*.

Choose between 0-2 or 7-9

0 Not True

1 Sometimes True

2 Mostly True

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

Q149. 1. I felt miserable or unhappy (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q150. 2. I didn't enjoy anything at all (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q151. 3. I was less hungry than usual (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q152. 4. I ate more than usual (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q153. 5. I felt so tired I just sat around and did nothing (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q154. 6. I was moving and walking more slowly than usual (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q155. 7. I was very restless (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q156. 8. I felt I was no good anymore (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q157. 9. I blamed myself for things that weren't my fault (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q158. 10. It was hard for me to make up my mind (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q159. 11. I felt grumpy and cross with my parents (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q160. 12. I felt like talking less than usual (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q161. 13. I was talking more slowly than usual (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q162. 14. I cried a lot (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q163. 15. I thought there was nothing good for me in the future (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

Q164. 16. I thought that life wasn't worth living (Choose one)

0 1 2 7 8 9

- Q165. 17. I thought about death or dying (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q166. 18. I thought my family would be better off without me (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q167. 19. I thought about killing myself (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- If MFQ_SUM is not equal to 1, then skip to Q168.***
- Q168. 20. I didn't want to see my friends (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q169. 21. I found it hard to think properly or concentrate (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q170. 22. I thought bad things would happen to me (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q171. 23. I hated myself (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q172. 24. I felt I was a bad person (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q173. 25. I thought I looked ugly (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q174. 26. I worried about aches and pains (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q175. 27. I felt lonely (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q176. 28. I thought nobody really loved me (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q177. 29. I didn't have any fun at school (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q178. 30. I thought I could never be as good as other kids (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q179. 31. I did everything wrong (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q180. 32. I didn't sleep as well as I usually sleep (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9
- Q181. 33. I slept a lot more than usual (Choose one)
0 1 2 7 8 9

Self-Esteem

These questions ask how you feel about yourself.

Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

1 Strongly Disagree

2

3

4

5 Strongly Agree

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

Q190.	1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal place with others	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q191.	2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q192.	3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q193.	4. I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q194.	5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q195.	6. I take a positive attitude toward myself	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q196.	7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q197.	8. I wish I could have more respect for myself	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q198.	9. I certainly feel useless at times	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9
Q199.	10. At times, I think that I am no good at all	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9

NRI

These following questions ask you to think about your relationship with your parents/caregivers.

Q450. If your female caregiver is NOT your biological/adoptive mother, then what is her relation to you?

The following questions are related to your mother/female caregiver.

Choose between 1-5 or 7-9

1 Never

2 seldom

3 sometimes or somewhat

4 Often

5 Always

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

Q463. 13. How happy are you with your relationship with this person? (Choose one)

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q464. 14. How much do you like the way things are between you and this person? (Choose one)

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q465. 15. How satisfied are you with your relationship with this person? (Choose one)

1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

MIBI

When answering these questions please refer to the ethnic group which you indicated described you best.
Answer all the following questions with that group in mind.

Choose Between 1-5 or 7-9

1 strongly disagree

2

3 neither

4

5 strongly agree

7 Don't Know

8 Refuse to Answer

9 Not Applicable

Q254. 2. I feel good about being a member of my ethnic group.
1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q255. 3. I am happy that I am a member of my ethnic group.
1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q259. 7. I feel that my ethnic group has made valuable contributions to this society.
1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Q260. 8. I am proud to be a member of my ethnic group.
1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9

Friends' Ethnicity

Q488. 1. Are your friends mostly of your same ethnicity or of a different ethnicity?

Please think about your five best friends and fill in the information below. Your friends can be from anywhere—your school, neighborhood, church, etc.

Q489. Friend #1's initials _ _ _

Q490. My Friend #1 is a: (Choose one)

- 0 Boy
- 1 Girl
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q491. My friend #1's ethnicity is: (Choose one)

- 0 Same as mine
- 1 Different
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q492. What is your friend #1's ethnic background?

Q493. Friend #2's initials _ _ _

Q494. My Friend #2 is a: (Choose one)

- 0 Boy
- 1 Girl
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q495. My friend #2's ethnicity is: (Choose one)

- 0 Same as mine
- 1 Different
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q496. What is your friend #2's ethnic background?

Q497. Friend #3's initials _ _ _

Q498. My Friend #3 is a: (Choose one)

- 0 Boy
- 1 Girl
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q499. My friend #3's ethnicity is: (Choose one)

- 0 Same as mine
- 1 Different
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q500. What is your friend #3's ethnic background?

Q501. Friend #4's initials __ __ __

Q502. My Friend #4 is a: (Choose one)

- 0 Boy
- 1 Girl
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q503. My friend #4's ethnicity is: (Choose one)

- 0 Same as mine
- 1 Different
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q504. What is your friend #4's ethnic background?

Q505. Friend #5's initials __ __ __

Q506. My Friend #5 is a: (Choose one)

- 0 Boy
- 1 Girl
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q507. My friend #5's ethnicity is: (Choose one)

- 0 Same as mine
- 1 Different
- 7 Don't Know
- 8 Refuse to Answer
- 9 Not Applicable

Q508. What is your friend #5's ethnic background?
